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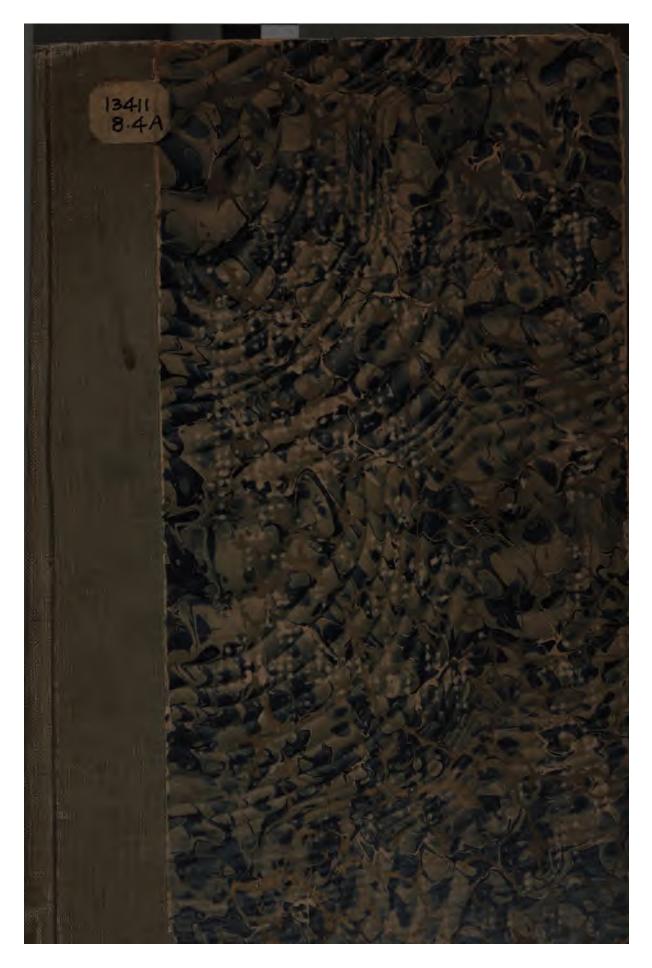
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Received 27 Nov. 1906



# Notes & Additions to the Census of Copies of the Shakespeare First Folio

BY SIDNEY LEE

Reprinted from "The Library," April, 1906, and revised to 24th May, 1906

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# NOTES AND ADDITIONS TO THE CENSUS OF COPIES OF THE SHAKE-SPEARE FIRST FOLIO.

I.

HREE and a quarter years ago—in December, 1902—I published, by way of supplement to the Oxford facsimile of the Shakespeare First Folio, a 'Census' in which were enumerated all extant copies of the First Folio that were then known to me. Long before my work was published, I had circulated appeals for co-operation wherever there seemed any likelihood that information would be forthcoming. The generous assistance, which was given me both in this country and abroad, enabled my record to reach the large total of one hundred and fifty-eight copies. Whatever the defects of the research, I may fairly claim to have achieved a greater measure of completeness than had characterized earlier explorations in the same field. Some eighty years before, the garrulous bibliographer Thomas Frognall Dibdin declared (in his 'Library Companion') that no more than twenty-six copies of the volume had

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come under his notice. Thomas Rodd, the chief London bookseller of the first half of last century, claimed (in 1840) to have compiled a list of eighty copies, but unfortunately he did not print his results, and they have vanished. The bibliographical publisher, Henry George Bohn, in 1863 described somewhat cursorily and confusedly in his new edition of Lowndes' 'Bibliographer's Manual,' thirtynine copies. In 1897 contributors to 'Notes and Queries,' under Mr. Holcombe Ingleby's enthusiastic leadership, enumerated fifty copies. 1 It was my fortune to increase that number by as many as one hundred and eight copies, of which none, as far as I know, had been publicly described before. It should be understood that I took account of copies in all conditions of cleanliness and completeness.

My 'Census' demonstrated two points, both of which had long been vaguely suspected. In the first place, it plainly appeared that, although extant exemplars in a fine state were few, yet perfect First Folios, far from being 'excessively rare,' were more numerous than perfect copies of other great books of the same era. In the second place, it became obvious that, as soon as we embodied in one systematic survey the more or less imperfect copies of this great collection of Shakespeare's plays, it was difficult to point to a publication of the early seventeenth century which had more triumphantly faced the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Supplementary efforts to describe copies that had found their way to America did not prove more exhaustive. Mr. Justin Winsor in 1875 gave very careful descriptions of eighteen copies in the United States of America, and in 1888 Mr. W. H. Fleming wrote very fully of thirteen copies in the city of New York,

perils of physical decay, and all the wear and tear of handling, to which popular books are always liable.

To a large extent it was pioneer work in which I engaged in 1902, and errors and omissions were inevitable. In spite of the unexpected length to which my list ran, there was no ground for treating it as exhaustive. Within a month of its publication three owners, who had failed to communicate with me earlier, wrote to me of copies which had escaped my observation. Other collectors at later dates gave me similar proofs of the imperfections of my record. Although the new information does not materially affect any published results, it forms an indispensable supplement to the already printed record. I therefore readily accept the invitation of the editors of 'The Library' to give their readers some account of the copies, of the existence of which I was ignorant in 1902, and generally to bring my results up to present date.

### II.

At the outset I take the opportunity of making some minor corrections. I have to confess three errors in my account of copies now in America which already figure in the 'Census.'

Of these errors I reckon the most important to be that touching the condition of the copy which is now the property of Mrs. Leiter of Washington (No. LIII.).<sup>1</sup> I had been informed by a member

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The numbers in roman numerals enclosed in brackets throughout this article, represent the position allotted to the cited copies in my 'Census.'

of the owner's family that the preliminary leaf, headed 'A catalogue of the seuerall Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies contained in this Volume, was missing. But a recent examination of the copy by Mr. Hugh Morrison, of the Congress Library at Washington shows that the leaf was present though in an unusual place. The copy ought therefore to be numbered in the class of forty-three perfect exemplars instead of in the first division of the second class of eighty imperfect exemplars, in which to my regret I located it. It is less important to note that I somewhat depreciated the condition of the First Folio in the Newberry Library at Chicago (No. CXVII.). I inspected that copy on my visit to the library on 4th April, 1903, and discovered that several preliminary leaves following the title-page which I had reported, from the information given me by a correspondent, to be in facsimile, were in their original state. My description of the fly-leaf and title-page as modern reproductions was, however, confirmed, and consequently the Newberry copy, although it was entitled to a somewhat higher place than I had bestowed on it, does not merit promotion above the second division of my second class. I had placed it in the third division of that class. had unwittingly undervalued the Leiter and the Newberry copies, I fear I had overvalued a third American copy. In the case of the First Folio (No. XXXVII.), which belongs to Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan of New York, much detailed evidence has recently come into my hands to show that I

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I have already acknowledged this mistake in the 'Athenæum' for January 13th of this year.

had over-estimated its historic interest. Already I had reason to believe that the book had been perfected from the somewhat damaged copy, lacking the portrait and title, which had belonged to the late Leonard Lawrie Hartley. But I did not know what I have been lately told on good authority, that the old binding stamped with the arms of Robert Sidney, second Earl of Leicester (1595-1667), which now distinguishes the book, is a recent substitute, derived from some other ancient tome, for a different old binding, stamped, it is said, with a bishop's armorial bearings, which covered the volume when Mr. Hartley was its owner.<sup>1</sup>

Before I deal with the newly-discovered copies, it becomes me to notice such changes as death or some less imperative circumstance has wrought in the ownership of copies which I have already described. At least fifteen of my entries are thereby affected.<sup>2</sup> Five owners, whose names figure

<sup>2</sup> Happily there is no foundation for the newspaper reports that two of the copies described by me (Nos. CXXXVIII and

¹ Mr. Henry R. Davis of Thistleton House, Clissold Road, London, who has followed the history of Mr. Morgan's copy very closely, owns the millboards of its original binding, which was, he tells me, stripped off after Mr. James Toovey bought it for £250 at the Hartley sale on 19th April, 1887. Owners of the volume preceding Mr. Hartley, whom I overlooked, included Sir John Sebright of Beechwood, Hertfordshire, whose collection was dispersed in 1807, and Robert Willis, F.R.S. (1800–1875), the well-known archaeologist and Professor of Mechanics at Cambridge. The copy seems to have been sold by Professor Willis at Hodgson's sale room on 8th April, 1872, for £20 10s., the smallness of the sum being due to some unjustifiable misconception about a leaf in the middle of the volume. Hartley appears to have been the purchaser on that occasion. The volume is numbered 478 in the sale catalogue of the third portion of the Hartley Library, 1887.

in my 'Census,' have died since the work was printed, viz.: Lord Glanusk (No. LXXVIII.), Lord Leigh (No. LXXXII.), the Rev. Sir Richard Fitzherbert, Bart. (No. LXXVII.), Mr. W. Hughes Hilton of Sale, Cheshire (No. CIX.), and Mr. L. Z. Leiter of Chicago and Washington (No. LIII.). But in all these cases the copies still remain in the hands of the family of the former owner, so that little alteration in my printed text is at present needed. Three copies, which belonged to booksellers in 1902, viz.: those assigned respectively in my 'Census' to Mr. Charles Scribner of New York (No. XIII.); to Mr. William Jaggard of Liverpool (No. CXI.); and to Messrs. Pearson and Co. of London (No. CXLVIII.) are now in private libraries. Messrs. Pearson sold their copy to a New York bookseller who has since died. Seven further copies in private libraries have lately acquired new owners by public or private sale. Of these, one was already in America, and still remains there in different hands; six, which were in England in 1902, have since crossed the Atlantic to add bulk and dignity to the growing cohort of American copies.

The most interesting of these migrations is that of the First Folio which is numbered X. in the first division of my first class. This Folio was acquired by Mr. Bernard Buchanan MacGeorge of Glasgow in Messrs. Christie's Sale Room, July, 1899, for

CXLVI), both of which formed part of the Adolph Sutro Library at San Francisco, perished in the earthquake and fire which destroyed the greater part of that city in April, 1906. The copy (No. CXXXVII), in the possession of Mrs. William H. Crocker of San Francisco, is, I understand, also unharmed.

what was then the record price of  $f_{1,700}$ . copy remained in Mr. MacGeorge's library until June, 1905, when it passed into the great Shakespearean collection of Mr. Marsden J. Perry of Providence, Rhode Island. The transaction included the transfer of the Second, Third, and Fourth Folios, as well as the First, and for the four volumes Mr. Perry paid the unheard-of sum of £10,000. All the books were in good condition. The Second Folio came from the Earl of Orford's library, and was acquired by Mr. MacGeorge for the high price of £540 in 1895. It is not easy, in a negotiation carried through on such princely terms, to determine the precise value set by Mr. Perry on Mr. MacGeorge's First Folio apart from his later Folios. The record prices hitherto fetched at public sales for each of the four volumes are at present as follows:

FIRST Folio. £1,720 for the Dormer-Huntecopy (No. XIII.) at Christie's 27th July, 1901. (This copy was subsequently acquired by Mr. Charles Scribner of New York, and has since been sold by him at an enhanced price to a private American collector.)

Second Folio. £690, at Sotheby's, 21st March, 1902, for a copy with the rare 'John Smethwick' imprint. (This was acquired by Mr. Perry of Providence.)

THIRD FOLIO. £755 for Lieut.-Col. E. G. Hibbert's copy at Sotheby's, April, 1902. (This exemplar had the two different titlepages dated 1663 and 1664 respectively.)

Fourth Folio. £215 at Sotheby's, 8th December, 1903, for a copy with an exceptional imprint.

Thus at public sales the four Folios in their rarest states have not fetched a larger aggregate sum than £3,380. Mr. Perry last year trebled that record. We must therefore credit him with having purchased the MacGeorge First Folio (viewed separately from its three companions) for some gigantic sum not less than  $f_{0,000}$ . This figure is reached by valuing the accompanying Second, Third, and Fourth Folios at three times the highest public sale rate, and then deducting their total from the £10,000 which Mr. Perry paid Mr. MacGeorge for the four. It is impossible to estimate the cost of Mr. Perry's First Folio at any lower sum. It is familiar knowledge that the First Folio, which Mr. Perry has now secured for £6,000 or more, was originally bought in 1623 for £1. Far greater is the appreciation of the original quarto edition of Shakespeare's 'Titus Andronicus,' which, published in 1594 at sixpence, was sold last year for  $f_{32,000}$ . But, in view of Mr. Perry's great venture, the First Folio bids fair to become the most expensive (absolutely) of all printed books.

I know fewer details respecting the transfer to American owners of five other copies, which stand in my 'Census' of 1902 associated with the name of English owners, but have since been sold to American collectors. One of these stood high in the second division of my first class (No. XXIV), and is rich in bibliophilic memories. It is the copy which, when I wrote, was in the fine library of the late Frederick Locker-Lampson, of Rowfant, Sussex. The whole of that collection was sold by the collector's son, Mr. Godfrey Locker-Lampson,

to Messrs. Dodd, Mead and Co., the booksellers of New York, in January, 1905.

None of the other four recent migrants to America are of first-rate importance. All were placed in the second division of my second class of (imperfect) copies. Lord Tweedmouth's copy (No. XC.) passed privately to America through Mr. Quaritch some two years ago. The remaining three were disposed of at public auction—two at the same sale to the same American collector. The better of these two belonged to Mr. W. G. Lacy (No. LXXX.), and was sold in June, 1903, for £385. The Rev. R. H. Roberts' copy (No. LXXXVI.), which was issued in reduced facsimile in 1876, was sold on the same occasion for the small sum of £ 150. Both these copies were acquired by Mr. H. C. Folger of New York, a collector who has purchased of late years more examples of the volume than any one before him.1 The copy, belonging in 1902 to Mrs. Charles Hilhouse (No. LXXVIIIa.), fetched on 21st March, 1903, at

I failed in 1902 to trace the present owner of two Folios (Nos CXXII. and CXL.), which I noticed as having long been in America in private libraries which had been recently dispersed. Both, I have ascertained since, came into Mr. Folger's possession. But even thus, as the following pages will show, the list of Mr. Folger's purchases of First Folios is far from exhausted. In this connection I ought to mention that the fine Folio (No. XLI.) which was sold at Sotheby's at the dispersal of Lt.-Col. Edward George Hibbert's library on 12th April, 1902, for £1,050, was not traced in my 'Census' beyond Messrs. Pickering and Chatto's shop in Piccadilly. Mrs. Dean Sage of Albany, New York State, informed me in April, 1903, that her late husband acquired it shortly before his death in the previous year, and that it remains in her possession.

Sotheby's, £305; I only know of its present owner that he is an American citizen. One of the American exemplars which I recorded has changed hands recently at a public sale. On 3rd February of the present year, Mr. Henry Gardner Denny of Roxbury, Boston, U.S.A., sold his set of the four Folios for £1,790 (\$8,950). The purchaser was a collector of New York. Mr. Denny's First Folio, (No. CXIX.), which I placed in the third division of my second class, may fairly be reckoned to have brought more than £1,000.

### III.

With the copies which have been made known to me since 1902 I break fresher ground. Fourteen copies in all have come within my survey since the 'Census' was printed. The full total of extant copies known to me, which previously stood at 158, is thereby raised to 172. All save one of these fourteen 'new' copies were in 1902 in the United Kingdom; only one was then in America. But the American demand for First Folios, which has long been the dominant feature in their history, has shown during the last three years no sign of slackening. It will therefore surprise no one to learn that these thirteen English copies are now reduced to eight. Five of them have crossed the ocean during the past three years.

Information respecting nine of the 'new' copies was sent to me by their present owners. Of the remaining 'new' copies five came to light, as far as I was concerned, in Messrs. Sotheby's sale rooms. One of

the newly discovered fourteen copies is owned by a public institution, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. The thirteen others are, and always have been, in private hands. It is perhaps matter of congratulation that, despite the recent activity of American buyers, the most interesting of recently discovered copies still remain in this country. Only one of the 'new' copies which have lately found homes in America has any title to be considered of first-class rank.

I arrange the new copies in order of value and interest, and number them consecutively.

(I.) LADY WANTAGE'S COPY. The finest of the 'new' copies belongs to Lady Wantage of Lockinge House, Berkshire, and I cordially thank her for forwarding the book to my house in order to facilitate this inquiry.

The history of the ownership can be traced back to the eighteenth century. At the back of the last leaf is scribbled, in handwriting of that era, the words 'Miss Stodart 1761.' There is another almost contemporary sign of association with a Scot. On the third leaf (which contains the dedication) is the autograph signature of 'Andrew Wilson, M.D.' He was a Scotsman who practised medicine successfully in London for many years before his death there on 4th June, 1792.

The next private owner whose name is ascertainable is Sir Coutts Trotter, the grandfather of the late Lord Wantage. Sir Coutts, who was a senior partner in Coutts' Bank, and was created a baronet at George IV's coronation (September 4th, 1821), probably acquired his First Folio towards the close

of his life. Nothing is known of his connection with it until the end of 1835. According to some interesting correspondence which is preserved along with the volume, and has been sent to me by Lady Wantage, Sir Coutts at that date lent his copy to a book-loving friend, John Halkett, of Richmond Hill, who, after carefully examining it for himself, obtained a full report of its condition from his friend, John Field, a well-known contemporary collector of dramatic literature. Field's report, which is dated December 28th, 1835, pronounced the book to be perfect, with very trifling reservations, which chiefly concerned marginal fractures. declared it to be 'a most beautiful copy indeed,' and thought that 'with the exception of two or three copies' (among which he mentioned the Grenville copy, now in the British Museum), 'this is the finest I ever saw, or I believe in existence.' But it was in damaged binding, and in its existing state was probably not worth, in Field's opinion, more than £60. Field recommended that the binder, Charles Lewis, 'the only man to be trusted with such a book,' should be employed to repair it. Sir Coutts Trotter, a few days after he received Field's report from Halkett, begged the latter to keep the book as a mark of his esteem. But Halkett magnanimously declined the suggestion, on the just ground that Coutts' descendants a hundred years later would greatly value its possession. The binder, Lewis, died 8th January, 1836, in the course of the discussion. Halkett advised Sir Coutts to send the book for binding to Herring, a binder hardly less famous than Lewis, and to consult his friend,

Thomas Grenville, the greatest collector of the day, if he wanted further counsel. But nothing had been done with the book by the date of Sir Coutts' death, 1st September, 1837. Then the volume became the property of Sir Coutts' only daughter, Anne, wife of Colonel James Lindsay, a cousin of the Earl of Crawford. In 1864 Lord Lindsay, the eminent bibliophile (afterwards twenty-fifth Earl of Crawford) carefully re-examined the Folio, and sent on August 1st a full description of it to Mrs. Lindsay, its owner. He declared the copy to be 'a very fine one, sound, and in good preservation throughout,' in spite of some 'drawbacks,' of which the most important was the removal of most of the blank portions of the fly-leaf containing Ben Jonson's verses. Mrs. Lindsay seems to have left the volume unrepaired to her second son, Colonel Robert James Loyd-Lindsay, who became first Lord Wantage, and whose widow is the present owner. It remained in the condition in which Lord Lindsay saw it in 1864, until 1902, when it was elaborately repaired and richly bound in red levant morocco by Messrs. Rivière. A leather case was at the same time made for its safe keeping.

The measurements, which are  $12\frac{7}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$  inches, are highly satisfactory; the highest dimensions known are  $13\frac{1}{2}$  by  $8\frac{3}{4}$  inches. The recent restoration mainly affects the fly-leaf and title-page. The original print of Ben Jonson's verses, save the subscribed letters B.I., which were torn off, has been carefully mounted on a new leaf; the missing letters B.I. are supplied in facsimile. The letterpress round the portrait on the title-page has been repaired, but

the impression (from a late state of the plate) is crisp and clear. The last leaf is perfect, though it shows signs of having been much creased. Several small holes in the margins have been repaired. The pagination, text, and signatures show no variation from the standard collation offered by the majority of extant copies. There are none of the singularities of typography which are occasionally met with. Manuscript notes of the early eighteenth century are scribbled at the end of some of the plays. On the last page of 'Macbeth,' 'Hamlet,' and 'Julius Caesar' are manuscript lists of the 'dramatis personae.' At the end of 'Lear' is a list of characters in the succeeding tragedy of 'Othello,' and at the end of 'Antony and Cleopatra' appear these verses:

Not the Dark Palace nor the Realms below, Or the Furious Purpose of her Soul. Bouldly she looks on her superior woe Which can nor fear nor Death Controwl. She wil not from her fancy'd Pride desend Disgrac'd a Female Captive by his side His pompous triumph to atend She bouldly Runs in Death and bids her Sorrows end.

Signs are abundant that the section of tragedies in the volume has been at one time or another carefully studied. Lady Wantage's copy clearly belongs to the second division of my first class of perfect copies. Had the fly-leaf not suffered injury, it would have merited a place among the fourteen enviable copies of the first division.

(II.) THE DUKE OF NORFOLK'S COPY. Hardly less distinguished a place in the second division of

the first class is due to the Duke of Norfolk's copy. Former bibliographers have referred to a copy in the possession of the Duke of Norfolk of their day. But when I made inquiries respecting it in 1901, I was informed that the only early edition of Shakespeare's collected works then known to be in the Duke's possession was a Third Folio. Shortly after the publication of my 'Census' the Duke, with great courtesy, informed me that a First Folio had just come to light at Arundel, and more recently he was kind enough to send the copy to the British Museum for my inspection. The dimensions are  $12\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The verses on the fly-leaf have been cut out of the original leaf and inlaid on a new leaf. The outer edge of the title-page has been roughly renewed, and the last two figures of the date, 1623, have been cut away and inserted in facsimile. The corner edge of p. 83 (Histories) has been renewed, and the last leaf has been slightly repaired. Though the size of the copy has been considerably reduced by the binder, the outer edge of p. 79 of the Comedies is rough and uncut. The impression of the portrait is good and clear. The volume is plainly bound in dull purple morocco.

Inside the cover is pasted the book-plate of Bernard Edward, twelfth Duke of Norfolk (1765-1842); he was a man of some literary tastes, and probably acquired the volume soon after his accession to the title in 1815.

This copy has a special claim to notice, in that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In my 'census' I gave seven instances (p. 12, note 3) in which a later Folio had been wrongly described as a First, and I mentioned the Duke of Norfolk's Third Folio among these copies.

one of its leaves figures in an unrevised state. It is a leaf in 'Hamlet,' ordinarily numbered 277 and 278. All who have carefully examined the First Folio are aware that the type was occasionally corrected while the sheets were passing through the press. An uncorrected or a partially corrected sheet was at times suffered to reach the binder's hands. Consequently minute differences distinguish different copies of the book. In the cited leaf of 'Hamlet' there appear, in the Duke of Norfolk's copy, at least twelve misprints, which were removed before the majority of extant copies were made up. Among the one hundred and seventy-two extant copies, these twelve misprints only appear, as far as my knowledge goes, in the copy belonging to Mr. Marsden Perry of Providence, U.S.A. But a second copy, formerly in the possession of Thomas Amyot, of which the present whereabouts are unknown, was credited with the like distinction by the editors of the Variorum Shakespeare of 1821 (vol. xxi, pp. 449-Curiously enough a thirteenth misprint ('Foredo' for 'for do,' p. 278, col. 2, line 3) characterizes those two copies, but this is corrected in the Duke of Norfolk's copy. Hence it is clear that, though leaf 277-8 of the Duke's First Folio represents an early setting of the type, it cannot be reckoned among quite the earliest. The corrector of the press had just begun to occupy himself with this leaf before it was printed off for the Duke's copy.1 The twelve divergences between the partially cor-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Marquis of Bath's copy (No. L.) indicates a later stage in the correction of the same leaf. Half of the errors here enumerated have been removed, and half have been suffered to remain.

rected text and the standard collation of the majority of First Folios extant are as follows:

Page 277	STANDARD COLLATION.	Norfolk Copy.
Page number Col. 1, l. 9 from end	'277' for 'iowles',	'273.' 'iowlos.'
Page 278 Col. 1, l. 17 ,, l. 20	'sir, his',, 'years',,	'sirh, is.' 'yearys.'
, l. 41 , l. 30 from end	'one thing',, 'Coffin',	'o-n thing.' 'Cooffin.'
Col. 2, l. 30 ", l. 43	'Bride-bed', 'maid', 'emphasis',	'Brid-bed.' 'maide.' 'emphasies.'
, l. 52 , l. 4 from end	'wisenesse', 'forbeare', 'Crocodile',	'wisensse.' 'forebeare.' 'crocadile.'
,, last line	Crocodile ,,	or country.

I have not noticed in the Duke's copy any other discrepancies with the standard collation, save that in the stage direction respecting the death of 'King Lear,' on the last page of that tragedy, the 'e' in *He dis* is separated from the initial letter of the word, and stands in complete isolation.

(III.) BISHOP GOTT'S COPY. The present Bishop of Truro, Dr. John Gott of Trenython, possesses a copy which he inherited from his father, William Gott, of Wyther Grange, Yorkshire. He describes it as quite perfect, but I have not had the opportunity of inspecting it personally. The size is  $12\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and the volume was rebound in red moroccohalf a century ago.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The bishop also tells me that he possesses a large number of original Shakespeare quartos, including 'Hamlet,' 1611; 'Love's

(IV.) MR. GEORGE C. THOMAS'S COPY. This copy which fetched the highest price since 1902 in a London sale room was sold at Sotheby's, 20 June, 1904, for £950. It was then purchased by Messrs. Pickering and Chatto, and passed to Mr. George C. Thomas, of Philadelphia, through Messrs. Stevens and Brown, the American agents.

A note on the fly-leaf records that the volume was purchased in 1772 for five guineas. The old russia binding dates from the latter half of the eighteenth century. The fly-leaf, the title-page, and the dedication leaf have all undergone some damage, but have been repaired. The margin of some other preliminary leaves, as well as the last leaf, has been mended. It is a small copy, measuring  $12\frac{1}{2} \times 8$  inches.

The other newly-discovered copies make no claim to perfection. The next five belong to the second class of (imperfect) copies, but one of these (No. V. below) is of unique historic interest.

(V.) THE 'TURBUTT' COPY, LATELY RESTORED TO THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY. This exemplar, known as the 'Turbutt' copy from the surname of its recent owners, was the actual First Folio which was forwarded in sheets by the Stationers' Company to the Bodleian Library at Oxford on the publication of the volume late in 1623. The sheets were sent to William Wildgoose, an Oxford binder, to be bound on 17 February, 1623-4. On its return to the library

Labour's Lost,' 1598; 'Romeo and Juliet,' 1599; 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' 1600 (the two editions); 'Merchant of Venice,' 1600 (Roberts' 4to); 'Henry V.' (3rd edition), 1608; 'King Lear,' 1608, with some other volumes hardly less valuable.

it received the press mark, S2 17 Art., and was, according to custom, chained to the shelf.

On the publication of the Third Folio in 1664, the volume was sold as 'superfluous' by order of the curators. It was bought by Richard Davis, an Oxford bookseller, and, early in the eighteenth century, it found its way into the library of Richard Turbutt of Ogston Hall, Derbyshire, whose great

great grandson has lately parted with it.

It is a large copy, measuring  $13\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{5}{8}$  inches. The fly-leaf is missing. The title-page is mounted; the letterpress below the engraving has been cut away. The portrait, although it is inlaid, is a fine impression of the Droeshout engraving in its second (shaded) state. The binding, which is much rubbed in places, is of smooth brown calf. The leather strings have been removed, but signs of the chain which originally linked it to its shelf survive. The pages are much worn, but, with the important exception of the fly-leaf, all the leaves are present.

Mr. Falconer Madan, the sub-librarian of the Bodleian Library, exhibited the volume, and fully described its pedigree at a meeting of the Bibliographical Society on 20 February, 1905. An elaborate account of 'The Original Bodleian copy

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Mr. Gladwyn M. R. Turbutt, son of its recent owner, sent me from Ogston Hall a full account of this volume on 26th December, 1902, some three weeks after my 'Census' was published. He was not then aware of its association with the Bodleian Library. This was discovered early in 1905, when the book was taken to the Library by Mr. Gladwyn Turbutt for examination by Mr. Falconer Madan, the sub-librarian. A careful inspection of the binding by Mr. Strickland Gibson of the Bodleian Library, disclosed the early history of the volume.

of the First Folio of Shakespeare (The Turbutt Shakespeare) was prepared jointly by Mr. Falconer Madan, Mr. G. M. R. Turbutt, and Mr. Strickland Gibson, and was printed at the Clarendon Press, with plates, in the spring of last year. An appeal was made in the autumn of 1905 to Oxford graduates and others for a sum of money sufficient to purchase the volume and restore it to the Bodleian Library. Its value was estimated at £3,000. All English book-lovers may be congratulated on the success of the appeal. The volume was secured for Oxford

in perpetuity on 31st March, 1906.

(VI.) MR. W. R. BIXBY'S COPY. This copy now belonging to Mr. W. R. Bixby of St. Louis, Missouri, U.S.A., has a long ascertainable pedigree. It was in successive possession of two established families in the County of Durham from the middle of the seventeenth to the end of the nineteenth century. An entry in contemporary handwriting runs thus: 'Liber G. Spearman Dunelm. 1695.' The reference is to Gilbert Spearman, who published in 1728 an 'Inquiry into the Ancient and Present State of the County Palatine of Durham,' and died in 1738. The Spearmans resided through the eighteenth century at Oldacres, Sedgefield in the County of Durham. From them the book passed to the family of Sutton of Elton in the same county, by whom it was sold privately, in a very poor condition, to the firm of Ellis of Bond Street in May, 1900. It came into their hands a 'mere wreck.' The fly-leaf had disappeared, and the title and last leaf were damaged. The volume was carefully repaired, and bound by Rivière, the fly-leaf being supplied in facsimile.

Messrs. Ellis and Elvey priced it in their catalogue of November, 1901, at £900, and next month it was acquired by its present owner through Messrs. Stevens and Brown, the American agents of London. It measures  $12\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{8}$  inches, and may be placed among satisfactory copies of the second class.

(VII.) THE 'DAWSON-BRODIE-FOLGER' COPY. This copy was for some years in the stock of the late Mr. F. S. Ellis, of Bond Street. It was made up from one or two fragmentary copies which he had acquired at various times. It was purchased at his sale in 1885 for £97, by a Scottish collector, Sir Thomas Dawson-Brodie of Idvies, N.B.

It was a comparatively large copy, measuring 13 × 8 inches. The fly-leaf, with the preliminary leaf 'To the Memorie' were, like the letterpress of the title-page, in facsimile, but an original impression of the portrait was inlaid in the restored title. Some two hundred pages were supplied with new margins, and the last leaf had undergone reparation. It was bound by Bedford. It fetched at the sale of the library of Sir Thomas Dawson-Brodie, on 18 March, 1904, the sum of £465, or nearly five times as much as it cost Sir Thomas. It is now the property of Mr. H. C. Folger, junr., of New York.

(VIII.) MRS. A. B. STEWART'S COPY. This copy belongs to the widow of Alexander Bannatyne Stewart of Rawcliffe, Langside, Glasgow. At the end of the volume is an autograph signature of 'Tho: Bourne', who was possibly an early owner. In the middle of the nineteenth century it was in the hands of the London bookseller Joseph Lilly,

a mighty trader in First Folios. Other London booksellers through whose hands it passed were Basil Montagu Pickering of Piccadilly, and F. S. Ellis of Bond Street. Before 1878 Ellis sold it, with copies of the three other Folios, for the moderate sum of three hundred guineas to the late Alexander Bannatyne Stewart, of Glasgow, whose widow is the present owner. The copy measures  $12\frac{7}{16} \times 7\frac{7}{8}$ inches. The fly-leaf verses, the letterpress portion of the title, and the last two leaves are in facsimile. The corners of pages 291-292 of 'Winter's Tale' have been torn away. The volume is richly bound in red morocco. According to the report sent to me, which I have not yet been able to test by personal examination, there is a singular discrepancy at one point between this copy and all others which have been collated. The signatures and the watermark of the leaves containing the play of 'Troilus and Cressida' are normal (and unlike those of any of the later folios) but the pagination of the piece (1-29) is unique. Ordinarily, the pages of 'Troilus' are (save in two instances) unnumbered in the First Folio. The next play, 'Coriolanus,' starts in Mrs. Stewart's volume, as in normal copies, with a new and independent pagination (1 seq.).1

(IX.) THE 'SCOTT-FOLGER' COPY. The large library of the late John Scott, C.B., of Halkshill, Largs, Ayrshire, who was by profession a ship-builder, contained a restored copy of the First Folio, of which all the preliminary leaves and last leaf were in facsimile. It measured 12½ × 7¾ inches, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I have to thank Mrs. Stewart's son-in-law, Mr. David Laid-law of Polmont, Stirlingshire, for all this information.

was richly bound by Roger de Coverley. It fetched at the sale of the Scott library on 5 April, 1905, the sum of £255, and was acquired by the American collector, Mr. H. C. Folger.

The remaining five 'new' copies are all defective, and would fill places in my third class.

(X.) Society of Antiquaries of Scotland copy. The copy belonging to this Society was described by Mr. W. K. Dickson, Secretary of the Society, at a meeting of the Society held at Edinburgh on 12th February, 1906.

It was presented to the Society, according to the minute-book, by Miss Clarke of Dunbar, on 2nd November, 1784. It was bound in dark brown morocco by Messrs. Orrock and Son, of Edinburgh, about 1870. The fly-leaf and portrait title-page have been rebacked and mended. Seven leaves have disappeared. Three of the preliminary leaves are missing, viz., the dedication, the verses to the 'memorie of the deceased Authour,' and the list of actors. Four leaves of the text are missing—two of 'Romeo and Juliet,' pp. 53-6 of the Tragedies, and the last two of the whole volume, viz., pp. 397-9 of 'Cymbeline.' The margins of some thirteen leaves are injured.

It is a small copy measuring 12\frac{1}{8} \times 7\frac{7}{8} inches. The rare misprints, 307 for 309, and 309 for 307, in 'King Lear' are the chief discrepancies from the standard collation.

(XI.) THE 'KNIGHT-CLOWES' COPY. The external literary history gives this copy, despite its inferior condition, great interest. It belonged to Charles Knight, whose edition of Shakespeare was

the most popular of all editions in the nineteenth century. Knight studied the First Folio with exceptional zeal. His copy of the volume, which now belongs to his grandson, Mr. W. C. Knight-Clowes, has peculiar fascination for students. Mr. Clowes has been good enough to lend the book to me for a long term of months. Its imperfections are, unfortunately, very palpable, and it cannot be placed above third-class copies in any catalogue raisonné. Of 908 original leaves 27 are lost; 881 alone survive. All but three of the preliminary leaves have disappeared, and the edges of those that survive are damaged. Other missing leaves are two leaves of 'The Taming of the Shrew,' two leaves of 'Henry VIII,' one leaf of 'Troilus' (¶), two leaves of 'Romeo and Juliet,' two leaves of 'Hamlet' (pp. 3, 4), and the last twelve leaves of 'Cymbeline,' with which the volume ends. All the missing leaves, including six in the preliminary section, have been supplied from the facsimile typed reprint of 1807. The lost leaf of the 'Merry Wives' is bound out of its due place, and has been needlessly supplied in duplicate from the 1807 reprint.

The dimensions are  $12\frac{5}{16} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$  inches. The volume has been roughly rebound in stamped russian leather at a comparatively recent date. There are no textual singularities. A few pages are defaced by manuscript notes, for the most part senseless scribble, in seventeenth century handwriting. On the lower part of page 204 of the Histories—at the end of the play of 'Richard III'—appear in one hand the name 'the Lady Sarah Hearst,' and in another hand, 'the Ladie Ann Grey,' and 'The Lady Mary

Bucckinham.' Below the prologue to 'Troilus' is written the couplet:

When malt is cheap againe, mark w<sup>t</sup> I say
Weele laugh, and drink, and make an hallowday.

To Baccus & Ceres.

(XII.) THE THORPE-FOLGER COPY. This copy belonged to Mr. W. G. Thorpe of the Middle Temple, a somewhat eccentric student of Shake-speare, who died in the previous year—in 1903. It measures  $12\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$  inches, and is bound in russia. The fly-leaf, title, and five of the seven preliminary leaves are, together with the five last leaves, in facsimile by Harris. Three other leaves are supplied from the second edition of 1632. Thus fifteen of the original leaves were missing. It was acquired by Messrs. Sotheran for Mr. Folger of New York for £181, at the sale of Mr. Thorpe's library at Sotheby's on 18th April, 1904.

(XIII.) THE WALLER COPY. A large but defective copy, measuring  $13 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$  inches, fetched £420 at Sotheby's sale rooms on 29th July, 1904, when it was bought by Mr. Waller. The portraittitle was wanting, together with the first leaf of 'Troilus and Cressida,' and the last leaf of the volume. There were several signs of injury by fire. The margins of forty leaves were burnt, in seventeen cases with injury to the text. Other defects appeared in both the preliminary leaves and the text of the plays.

(XIV.) MR. H. R. DAVIS'S COPY. The copy belonging to Mr. H. R. Davis, of Thistleton House, Clissold Road, London, N., is in bad condition. It

measures  $12\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The fly-leaf verses, the portrait-title, three preliminary leaves, and about seventy leaves of the text, including six at the end, are missing. The volume is unbound. A manuscript note on p. 229, in early seventeenth-century handwriting, is addressed to Viscount Cholmondeley and his wife Katherine, and signed by Robert Shakerley, a kinsman, and another. The copy would seem, soon after its publication, to have been acquired by a member of the family of Robert Cholmondeley, who was created Viscount Cholmondeley of Kells in 1628, and Earl of Leinster in 1645.

### IV

The general distribution of copies of the First Folio is altered slightly, but rather significantly, by recent investigations and changes of ownership. In 1902 there were one hundred and sixteen First Folios in the United Kingdom, including the thirteen newly discovered copies which were then in Great Britain, although I did not know of their existence; fifty-one were in the United States of America (including one—No. VI above—then unknown to me); three were in the British colonies, and two were on the continent of Europe. In addition to

Three exemplars, in addition to those named above, have been sold in London sale rooms since 1902, but they were in so fragmentary a condition that they must be excluded from any catalogue of substantial interest. The late Mr. William Henry Dutton of Newcastle, Staffordshire, possessed 291 leaves of one copy, and 64 leaves of another, and these fragments were both sold at Sotheby's on 8th December, 1903, for the sums of £41 and £19 respectively. A third fragmentary copy was sold for £52 10s. to Mr. Quaritch on 1st December, 1902.

the five newly discovered copies, which have been sold to American citizens since 1902, six other copies, which I noticed in my 'Census' as being in 1902 in English hands, have within the same period suffered like transportation. Thus, to-day, the British total stands at one hundred and five, a decrease of eleven since 1902, and the American total stands at sixty-two, an increase to the same extent. The totals for the British Colonies and for the European Continent are unaltered.

To Scotland I did, in 1902, an involuntary injustice, which the progress of time has now, as it happens, to a large extent repaired. I assigned only three copies to Scotland—one to Glasgow University, another to Mr. MacGeorge of Glasgow, and a third to Mr. W. L. Watson, of Ayton, Abernethy. But at the date at which my 'Census' was published, I was ignorant that no less than four other copies were in the Northern Kingdom; one of these belonged to a public institution, and three were in private hands. Thus, seven copies were, according to my present information, in Scotland in 1902. Of these, only four remain there to-day, viz., those respectively in the libraries of Glasgow University, of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, of Mr. W. L. Watson, of Abernethy, and of Mrs. A. B. Stewart, of Langside. The three remaining Scottish copies are now in America. The MacGeorge copy went to Mr. Perry, of Providence, and both the Scott and the Brodie copies to Mr. Folger, of New York.

These two gentlemen, Mr. Perry and Mr. Folger, are now the keenest collectors of Shakesperiana in the world. Mr. Folger is to be congratulated on

having acquired in the last few years as many as eight copies of the First Folio in all—a record

number for any private collector.

If the tide continue running so strongly towards the West, the present ratio in the distribution of copies of First Folio will not be long maintained. Thirty-three of the British copies are in public institutions, and in their case the likelihood of further change of ownership is small. But one can predicate no fixity of tenure of the larger number of seventy-three copies which still remain in private hands on this side of the Atlantic. Probably half of these are destined during the next generation to adorn the shelves of private collectors in America. Somewhere about 1915 America and Great Britain will in all likelihood each own the same number of copies—some eighty-three apiece. No diminution of the American demand during the next quarter of a century looks probable at the moment. The chances are that at the close of that epoch the existing ratio of American and British copies, sixty-two to one hundred and five, will be exactly reversed.

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